

THE CLUSTER *L + H + H IN GREEK

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The Greek sequences of a *long vowel plus liquid* ($V + L$) can be derived not only from PIE. * $L + H$ (*liquid plus laryngeal*) in the final position (as suggested by Hamp), but also from the original Proto-Indo-European clusters of a *liquid plus laryngeal plus laryngeal* ($L + H + H$) in the position before vowels. This hypothesis is supported by an etymological analysis of four Greek items.

In his excellent paper «Final *liquid + laryngeal in Greek» (Γλωσσολογία 2–3, 1983 – 1984, publ. 1985, pp. 163–168) Eric P. Hamp tries to explain twelve Greek sequences of *long vowel + liquid* ($\bar{V} + L$) as regularly deriving from Proto-Indo-European *liquid + laryngeal* ($L + H$) in final position. For instance, he derives the Greek term for «foal, filly», $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, from the archetype * p_lH_3- (cf. Germanic **fulan* «foal» and **fuliō* «filly»), suggesting that its o-stem is a later prehistoric suffixation, obligatory in the case of final *- λ . In addition, he claims that the derivational processes then concealed «the regular *Auslaut* nature of these developments» (p. 168).

Hamp's reconstructions are theoretically possible, as the proposed development generally agrees with that in Sanskrit, where the group $L + H$ gives $\bar{u}L$ or $\bar{i}L$ not only before consonants (and sonants), but also in the final position, e.g.

(A) PIE. $(t)p_lH_3-$ > * $p\acute{u}r-$ > Skt. $p\acute{u}r\dot{h}$ f. «wall, rampart» (acc. sg. *púram*, dat. sg. *puré*, etc.); for further cognates, see below (C).

(B) PIE. * $g^w\acute{r}H_2-$ > * $g\acute{r}-$ > Avestan *gar-* f. «praise, praise-song» = Skt. $g\acute{r}\dot{h}$ f. «word, invocation, praise» (acc. sg. *gíram*, dat. sg. *giré*, etc.); see also Skt. *gúrthi* f. «approval, praise», Latin *grātes* (f. pl.) «Dank» (both from * $g^w\acute{r}H_2tis$).

It is a well known fact, however, that the oblique cases of these Sanskrit words preserve the short vowel in the sequence $\bar{u}L$ / $\bar{i}L$ (< * $L\bar{o}H$) before vowels. The same phenomenon can be observed in the Old Indic derivatives (e.g. *púram* n. «wall, city, town»), and Greek follows Sanskrit in this respect, e.g.

(C) PIE. * $(t)p_lH_3-i-s$ (f.) «walled town» > Skt. (lex.) *purih* f. «city, town, Gk. $\pi(\tau)\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ f., Lithuanian *pilis*, Latvian *pils* f. «id».

(D) PIE. * $(H_2)rH_1-es-yáH_2-$ (f.) > Skt. *irasyá* f. «malevolence», Gk. Attic $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}$, Ion. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ f. «menaces, threats».

(E) PIE. * $p_lH-\acute{u}-$ (adj.) «much, many» > Skt. *purú-* adj. «much, many, abundant», Av. *pouru-*, Old Persian *paru-*, Gk. $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ adj. «many», etc.

This is why we can hardly agree with Hamp's proposal of a later prehistorical suffixation. It does not mean that there is an essential fault in his observations. On the

contrary, they are perfect and well founded, and I also accept Hamp's words that «no principled solution is to be found in conventional known consonant clusters» (p. 163).

To explain the «burdensome» instances of the Greek sequence of a long vowel plus liquid, given by Eric P. Hamp, we must recall three analogical examples taken from Pokorny's *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (henceforth: IEW). All these examples belong to the typical Sanskrit - Greek equations, where Sanskrit *ūL-* corresponds exactly with the Greek sequence of long vowel plus liquid.

(1) Skt. *mūla-* n. «root», also *mūra-* n. «id.» vs. Gk. *μῶλον* n. «a fabulous plant» (Hom.), «garlic, *Allium nigrum*» (Theophr., Dioscur.), also *μῶλον* α f. «a head of garlic» (see IEW 750).

The etymon of these words has been an embarrassment from the beginning. Pokorny's double reconstruction **mō[u]-lo-*/**mū-lo-* «Wurzel, Pflanze» hangs in the air, and therefore Mayrhofer doubts about the Greek-Sanskrit equation, classifying the Old Indic word in question as «nicht eindeutig erklärt» (*Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen II 667*, henceforth: KEWAi). However, the comparison seems essentially firm.

How can we explain the observed sequence of a long vowel plus liquid in Greek, corresponding with Sanskrit *ūL-*? Following Hamp, we might assume that the early shape of these words was **m̥H₃-*. But this stem, when thematized as *o*-stem should have given the forms **mūla-*, **mūra-* in Sanskrit (not *mūla* nor *mūra*). On the other hand, the sequence *ūL-* (or *-īL-*), if derived from PIE. **LH*, is kept in exactly the same form when it precedes a sonant or consonant. Thus the related word **m̥H₃-wáH₂* is reflected as Skt. *mūrvā* (f.) «the plant *Sansevieria roxburgiana*» and Lat. *malva* (f.) «mallow». Therefore in the case of *mūla-* we have to postulate an extension of the root base **m̥H₃-* by means of the original suffix *-*H_o-* (and not *-o-*). Thus Skt. *mūla-*/*mūra-* (n.) «root» comes from PIE. **m̥H₃-Hom*. Per analogiam, Gk. *μῶλον* (n.) seems to attest the PIE cluster *L + H + H* (liquid plus laryngeal plus laryngeal) and to reflect the proto-form **m̥H₃-Hu-*, if of course it is not a back-formation derived from the above-mentioned appellative **m̥H₃-wáH₂* (f.) «a plant (or root)».

(2) Skt. *mūrāḥ* adj. «foolish, stupid», m. «fool», Avestan *mura-* «blödsinning» (KEWAi II 665) vs. Gk. *μῶρος*, Attic *μῶρος* adj. «dumm, törricht» (IEW 750).

The equation presents the same equivalence in the root base (Skt. *-ūL-* beside Gk. *ṽL*) and therefore it should be explained in a similar or even identical way. We can safely derive the Indo-Iranian and Greek words from the uniform PIE. archetype **mr̥H₃-Hó-*. The double reconstruction **mō[u]-ro-*/**mū-ro-* «stumpfsinnig, törricht» (so Julius Pokorny, IEW 750) has - citing Hamp (p. 164) - «no meaning other than juggling with symbols», thus we are obliged to abandon it as inaccurate.

(3) Skt. *dūrāḥ* «far distant», Av. *dūra-*, OPers. *dūra-*, NPers. *dūr*, Khotan Saka *dura-* «far» vs. Gk. *δηρός*, Doric *δᾶρός* «lange dauernd», Armenian *erkar* «long (of time)», see IEW 219 - 220 (sub voce *deu-*, etc.).

It is usually admitted that the Indo-Iranian terms reflect a primitive form of **d(w)ūrós*, while their Greek and Armenian equivalents come from **dwārós*. However, the relation between **d(w)ūrós* and **dwārós* is quite analogous to that of the above-mentioned pairs (*mūra-*/-*μῶλον* and *mūrā-*/-*μῶρος*). It now seems reasonable to suggest

an uniform PIE. prototype. The reconstruction **dw̥H₂-Hós* may be easily attributed on the basis of the lexical material. On the other hand, Gk. *δήν* (Eleian, Doric *δᾶν*) «long, far» and Arm. *erkain* «long (of space)» seem to represent the original PIE. form **dw̥H₂*, supporting by analogy Hamp's view on Greek reflexation of the cluster *L + H* in final position.

In the same fashion we can analyse some of Hamp's instances. Returning to the controversial problem of the «foal» terminology, we have to notice that Greek *πῶλος* «foal, filly» (*o*-stem) resembles perfectly Armenian *ul* «kid, young of deer or gazelle» (*o*-stem) and, if the development of the cluster *L + H + H* is similar (or even identical) in Greek and Armenian, as it seems to be, both come back to the original PIE. archetype **p̥H₃H₃-o-s* (and not **p̥H₃l-o-s*). Thus the word base is PIE. **p̥H₃H-* «a young animal, esp. foal». Following Hamp (p. 164), we may regard further Indo-European cognates as a *n*-thematization:

- (a) Gothic *fula*, Old Norse *foli* m., Old English *fola*, Old High German *folo*, etc. «foal, colt» (< Germanic **fulan-* < PIE. **p̥H₃ən-m.*);
- (b) Welsh *elein*, pl. *alaned* «roe, fawn» (< Celtic **halani* < PIE. **p̥H₃ən-iH₂ f.*);
- (c) Albanian *pelë* f. «mare» (< Palb. **palni* < PIE. **p̥H₃ən-iH₂ f.*).

We can now summarize our findings:

(1) There is satisfactory evidence for the original cluster of two PIE. laryngeals. No possibility of the existence of such a cluster has been taken into account by Hamp himself nor by other researchers, though it is quite permissible from a phonological point of view. Note, for instance, that the shape of the above-reconstructed term for «foal» (PIE. **p̥H₃H₃Hos* Gk. *πῶλος*) does not differ generally from that of the original appellative for «bear» (PIE. **H₂f₁tkos*, Gk. *ἄρκτος*).

(2) The primitive PIE. cluster *L + H + H* (liquid plus laryngeal plus laryngeal), occurring in the position before a vowel, is reflected in Greek as *ṽ+L* (long vowel plus liquid) and in Old Indic as *ūL* and perhaps *īL*.

(3) We have identified the following early Greek etyma:

- **m̥H₃-Hu* > Gk. *μῶλον*.
- **mr̥H₃-Hós* > Gk. *μῶρος*, Attic *μῶρος*.
- **dw̥H₂-Hós* > Gk. *δηρός*, Doric *δᾶρός*.
- **p̥H₃H₃-os* > Gk. *πῶλος*, Mycenaean *po-ro* (dual).

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